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THE MIZAN NEWSLETTER

A REVIEW OF SOVIET WRITING
ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA

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The Mizan Newsletter aims at giving an objective and balanced account of current Soviet writings on the Middle East and Africa

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Communism and Nationalism in Morocco examines Soviet views on the relationship between Communism and non-Communist nationalism in Morocco, and between the "bourgeois" nationalist parties and the workers and peasants.

The Present Stage in Soviet African Studies is an account of the basic six-year plan of the Africa Institute; of the progress of African language study and teaching at Leningrad University; and of some recent Soviet studies on African history, ethnography, etc.

The Middle East in the Soviet Press includes Soviet reports on the progress of the High Dam and on arrests of Communists in the UAR, and Soviet comments on the Persian elections and on the Shah's attitude towards the USSR.

Africa in the Soviet Press reviews Soviet reports on recent Afro-Asian conferences in Cairo, and on the Congo, Algeria and other African countries.

Despite the official suppression of the Moroccan Communist Party, Soviet criticism of the Moroccan Government's internal policy is in general fairly mild. This is no doubt partly because its foreign policy meets with Soviet approval; partly because of Soviet hopes for closer relations between the two countries; and partly because the Moroccan Communist Party itself, despite the measures taken against it, has not officially taken up a position that is wholly antagonistic towards the regime.

On the subject of the Communist movement in Morocco, Soviet writers take the view that the Moroccan Communist Party is the most truly patriotic of the Moroccan parties and that it works for national unity in a common cause, although its overtures to the other parties for the formation of a "national front" have been rejected. Nevertheless, Soviet writers are unable to conceal entirely the basic contradictions between the aims of the Moroccan Communist Party and those of non-Communist nationalism.

The Communist Party and the national movement Every Soviet account of the Moroccan independence movement gives considerable attention to the pronouncements and activities of the Moroccan Communist Party. R.Avakov, in MOROCCO (Moscow 1957), contrives to give the impression that the Party was the leader of the independence movement, at least among the masses; N.S. Lutskaya, in MOROCCO AGAIN FINDS INDEPENDENCE (Moscow 1958), gives more credit to the "national bourgeoisie" and to the Istiqlal, the leading nationalist party, but nevertheless claims that only the Communist Party consistently championed the true interests of the Moroccan people.

In chronicling Morocco's struggle for independence, these and other writers represent the Communist Party's demands as no less "nationalist", and as in many respects more radical, than those of the orthodox nationalists. Avakov says that in its manifesto of 11th January 1944 the Istiqlal Party demanded independence for Morocco and the unification of all zones of the country, but the demand for liquidation of the protectorate regime "was not yet clearly formulated in the manifesto". The Moroccan Communist Party, on the other hand, formed in 1943, was "the true spokesman of the aspirations of the Moroccan people", calling for "the unification of all the progressive forces of the country in the struggle for national independence against colonial oppression". (A Moroccan Communist Party had been in existence from 1920 until 1943, in which year it acquired its formal independence from the French Communist Party of which it was formerly a branch.)

Avakov says that in its 1946 manifesto the Communist Party demanded independence and unity for Morocco, the abolition of the international

regime of Tangier, the return of Ifni, Melilla and Ceuta to Morocco, the removal of all foreign forces, French, Spanish and American, the "return to the people of all mineral wealth" and "the confiscation of foreign capital invested in Morocco by the monopolies", and elections to a national assembly which would draw up a constitution. Such a programme, he says, could have united all the anti-imperialist forces of the country; but "as a result of the opposition of certain circles of the bourgeoisie" a united front was not formed and the national liberation struggle was thereby weakened. Lutskaya similarly notes that after its Casablanca conference of 1949 the Communist Party proposed to the Istiqlal and other "national bourgeois" parties the formation of a common front, but this met with a decisive refusal; and that a similar proposal in 1951 was also rejected. She says that "the unwillingness of the bourgeois parties to form a united front with the Communists and with the working class weakened the forces of resistance, the more so since the overwhelming mass of the peasants, especially the Berbers, were not drawn into an organized national liberation struggle".

N.A. Ivanov, in his account of the Moroccan independence movement, is even more critical of the "bourgeois" nationalist parties. He condemns their conduct in August 1953, when the Sultan was presented with an ultimatum by the French authorities and his palace was surrounded by French troops. "At so critical a moment as this the leaders of the bourgeois parties did not decide to turn to the masses with an appeal to repel immediately the onslaught of reaction. Vacillating and losing time, they turned with a protest and a request for aid to the UN, the Arab League and other international organizations. The vacillations of the Sultan, ending with his agreement to accept the French demands, only favoured the plans of reaction". Similarly, after the Sultan's deposition, "the success of Moroccan reaction was assisted by the temporizing tactics and passivity of the parties of the national bourgeoisie, on whose unification the Moroccan Communists had been insisting for a period of years."

One can indeed trace a modification in the Soviet view of the Moroccan "bourgeois" parties. Thus P.Ye. Demchenko, in the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia (1954), says that the Istiqlal Party tried to secure liquidation of the protectorate regime by exploiting Franco-American differences and "leaning on the support of the USA"; and the authors of PEOPLES OF AFRICA (1954) say that the Istiqlal Party, while anti-imperialist, "does not and cannot express the basic interests of the working masses of Morocco". In 1959, on the other hand, Yu. Potemkin (SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.5) says that the Istiqlal Party has a "mass base" comprising not only representatives of the national intelligentsia and bourgeoisie but also "part of the working class and peasantry". But the basic and permanent differences in the strategies and programmes of the Communist and nationalist parties are implicit in Soviet accounts. Soviet writers do not disguise the fact that, in the first place, the Communist Party aims at securing mass following for a "proletarian" movement, and that, in the second place, its programme includes political and economic demands of a more than radical character - such as are not

likely to be acceptable to all "bourgeois" parties.

The proletariat and the workers' movement Rural and working-class poverty is a basic theme in Soviet accounts of the Maghrib countries. Yu. Potemkin (SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.3 of 1958) says that "the colonial regime brought the Tunisian and Moroccan peoples one of the lowest living standards in the world". On the other hand, the growing political consciousness of peasants and workers is emphasized. Potemkin (SOVREM. VOS. No.5 of 1959) says that the growth of class struggle among the peasants, particularly since the Second World War, drew them into political activity; "the North African peasantry became the mass support of the national liberation movement". At the same time, the high proportion of workers to peasants in Morocco is noted. Potemkin says that the Moroccan working class is "the most numerous in North Africa". Avakov says: "Including families, the working class of Morocco numbers about 1,500,000 persons, that is about one fifth of the entire population of the country. This is a very high percentage for a backward country with a colonial economy."

Soviet writers represent the Moroccan working class as fruitful ground for Communist influence. Lutskaya says that during the period 1946-9 the Moroccan Communist Party gained many supporters from the factories, the mines, the "bidonvilles" and the artisans' quarters, and was very active among the rural population; in the Tadla region, in particular, the peasants under the influence of the Communists frequently resorted to armed action against the oppression of the local officials and the French. Avakov says that the Communist Party, as a result of the bourgeois parties' refusal to form a united front with it, sought to "organize the unity of action of the masses from below".

The Soviet view of the Moroccan trade union movement presents certain anomalies. During the protectorate regime the Moroccan trade union organization was linked with the French CGT and was affiliated to the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions. The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia says that, in the early 1950s, it had 75,000 members. Lutskaya says that its membership included members of the Istiqlal Party as well as Communists. It was disbanded by the French authorities, however, and in 1955 a group of trade union leaders set up an independent organization, the Union Marocaine du Travail. Its membership rapidly grew to half a million, and it became affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. On this matter different Soviet writers express quite opposite opinions.

V.Ya. Vasil'yeva, in THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM OF IMPERIALISM (Moscow 1958), says that the UMT was set up by "dissidents connected with the ICFTU, who took advantage of the organizational weakness of the trade union movement". She adds that the Moroccan Communist Party "fights for the liquidation of the split in the Moroccan trade union movement and for the creation of united revolutionary trade unions".

Yu. Potemkin (SOVREM. VOS. No.5 of 1959) says that until the abolition of the protectorate "the Moroccan working class was deprived of the right of having a national trade union organization". (Presumably he does not consider that the earlier CGT branch was a "national" organization.) He goes on: "In March 1955 the Union Marocaine du Travail was formed illegally and had a great influence on the political and social life of the country. According to official data the union comprises 600,000 workers of town and village. In 1957 the Moroccan trade unions secured the promulgation of a royal decree on collective contracts and they campaign actively for their observance by employers". Potemkin also contrasts the Moroccan trade unions favourably with those of Tunisia; the latter, he says, "are under the monopoly control of the Neo-Destour Party and do not play an independent political role", whereas the Moroccan trade unions "are effectively independent of the government and boldly defend the immediate interests of the working class against French and Moroccan employers, and also put forward a number of important political demands".

The subsequent split in the UMT itself is deplored by Potemkin, who does not approve of the "free" trade unions which broke away under the influence of the Right-wing Istiqlal (see below).

Nationalism and progress Soviet writers insist that, during the struggle for independence, the basic political demands of the nationalist parties, and in particular the demand for the Sultan's return, were equally basic points in the Communist Party's programme. But they claim that the movement for social and economic reforms was led by the Communist Party. Avakov says that the backwardness of the peasant movement was due to the fact that "not one Moroccan political party had a properly worked out agrarian programme around which the peasant masses could rally", with the exception of the Communist Party. Avakov also notes the "the return to the people" of all mining enterprises and the confiscation of foreign capital were part of the Communist Party's programme as early as 1946.

In general, the conduct of the Istiqlal Party during the first years after the return of the Sultan and the proclamation of independence finds favour with Soviet writers - except for the fact that it refused to cooperate with the Communist Party. Avakov notes that the coalition government formed in December 1955 was "constantly subjected to sharp criticism" by the Istiqlal, which demanded the formation of a government that would give proper attention to problems of economic and social development. He says that the programme of the new Istiqlal-dominated government of October 1956 included measures for the development of agriculture, the distribution of state lands among landless peasants, abandonment of the "open door" tariff policy, and support for the Union Marocaine du Travail - which itself demanded nationalization of mining enterprises and transport and a programme of agrarian reform. The Moroccan Communist Party, says Avakov, approved of the Istiqlal Party's programme, noted the agreement in the points of view of both parties on

many questions, and proposed a conference to work out a joint programme.

Lutskaya deplores the fact that the Communist Party, despite its "serious role in the national liberation movement", was not represented in the 1955 government. She does not refer to the Communist Party's approval of the new Istiqlal-dominated government of 1956, but criticizes "the government's attempt to solve the country's economic problems by means of foreign loans, which restrict the country's sovereignty". She summarizes the Communist Party's basic proposals as follows:

1. Nationalization of the big mining companies and of electricity, railway and transport undertakings.

2. The development of a heavy industry, the basic prerequisite for the modernization of the country, financed by revenues received from nationalization.

3. Agrarian reform, and the return to the poor peasants and agricultural labourers of the million hectares of land seized from them by the colonizers, and also the distribution of lands belonging to traitor feudalists.

4. Encouragement of national production, control over private investments - national and foreign - and encouragement of private investments which are directed to the rapid advance of the Moroccan economy.

This programme, says Lutskaya, met with no support among Morocco's ruling circles; "to overcome economic difficulties they resort as before to the economic aid of the imperialist powers, France and the USA."

However, summing up the Moroccan Government's achievements to the date of writing, Lutskaya notes the formation of a National Consultative Council, "as the precursor of a democratic parliament"; the preparations for municipal elections; the campaign against illiteracy; and steps towards agrarian reform and the mechanization of agriculture - "such measures cannot of course fundamentally solve the country's agrarian problem, but they are evidence of the Moroccan Government's concern for the poverty of the Moroccan peasantry".

Other signs of progress have been noted in subsequent Soviet accounts of political developments in Morocco. Yu. Potemkin, as mentioned above, noted (SOVREM. VOS. No.5 of 1959) that trade union activity was legalized in 1957. He also spoke of the "positive significance" of the dahir (Royal decree) on public liberties of 25th November 1958, "which provides for the free organization and activity of political parties". On the subject of social and economic progress to date in Tunisia and Morocco Potemkin made the following somewhat disparaging comment:

> "The ruling circles of Tunisia and Morocco in their practical activity are obliged...to take into account the sentiments of

the democratic sections of the population. They put certain measures into effect, and publicize in every way the necessity of preserving 'social peace'."

The split in the Istiqlal Party Political developments in Morocco since the end of 1958 have been chronicled and commented on by Yu. Potemkin (SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.5 of 1959; MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA No.9 of 1960). Potemkin's basic view of the split in the Istiqlal between Right wing and Left wing is as follows:

"The division of the leaders of the party into 'Right' and 'Left' is to a certain extent only nominal, since between the political slogans of each of them there are no basic differences. The struggle between them is the struggle for power between two groups of the national bourgeoisie, with both sides having wide recourse to personal attacks and demagogy. Nevertheless one must recognize that the 'dissidents' - the Ben Barka and Basri group - understood earlier than the 'traditionalists' - the Al-Fassi and Balafrej group - that to preserve their influence among the masses it is necessary to give more attention to their demands."

The basic reason for the crisis in the Istiqlal Party, says Potemkin, was that during the period following independence its leaders in the government did nothing to relieve the poverty of the peasants and working masses; as regards agriculture, the dominance of the feudalists and the French monopolies was preserved, and no agrarian reform was put into effect; mass unemployment in the towns increased, and the people's standard of living fell; and the Right-wing Istiqlal leaders did not succeed in securing the withdrawal of French, Spanish and American forces and the liquidation of their bases. Consequently the formation of a new government in December 1958, headed by Abdullah Ibrahim of the Istiqlal Left wing, "was considered in democratic circles as a success for the progressive forces" whose support would assist it in tackling the many important tasks of domestic and foreign policy which faced it.

Potemkin also gives some attention to the corresponding split in the Moroccan trade union movement and the formation under Istiqlal leadership of a federation of "free" trade unions. He says of the new federation that "at its constituent session it especially emphasized its loyalty to Islam and to the King". But the UMT, which had "the unofficial support of the Ibrahim Government", had at its disposal "a powerful propaganda apparatus" in the mass-circulation press and the state radio, and "was able to discredit the Al-Fassi and Balafrej group and strengthen its own position".

Potemkin speaks with some approval of the fiscal and tariff measures of the Ibrahim Government, and of its decision to return 40,000 hectares of state (formerly French-owned) land to "its rightful owners". But on the political complexion of the Left-wing secessionists from the Istiqlal,

who in September 1959 formed a new party, the National Union of Popular Forces, he expresses some reservations:

> "While recognizing the necessity of taking certain progressive measures, the leadership of the National Union nevertheless adopted undemocratic positions in a number of questions. Thus, for example, they demanded the dissolution of political parties, striving to become the only political organization in the country. As the basis of their attempt to secure monopoly leadership of the political life of Morocco the National Union leaders advance the assertion that there are no contradictions between the country's social classes."

At the same time Potemkin notes that the conference of the old Istiqlal Party held in January 1960 showed that the party, despite the secession of an important part of its leadership and members, "is still a big political force".

The Ibrahim Government's suppression of the Communist Party is noted by Potemkin; he says it was the result of "pressure by reactionary circles".

The present situation The dismissal of the Ibrahim Government and King Muhammad's assumption of the Presidency of the Council in May 1960 was not reported in the Soviet press at the time. Potemkin, in his article published in August, says: "In this way the Istiqlal has again become the ruling party, and the National Union of People's Forces has been turned into an opposition organization". He adds only a general comment, to the effect that after "the first stage of the liberation struggle" in any country the class struggle becomes more intense, and, quoting Khrushchev, says that the progressive forces strive to strengthen their national independence in the face of "the struggle of internal reactionary forces, often instigated from outside by the imperialists".
Y. Bochkarev, a Soviet journalist who was in Morocco in May 1960, said (NEW TIMES No.20 of 1960):

> "A constitution has been promised, but no one knows when the promise will be kept. True, the first communal elections are to take place this month, but they will only be a very small step forward."

Potemkin says of the municipal elections: "These elections were of course very far from fully reflecting the disposition of the country's political forces. Having suppressed the Communist Party, the ruling circles deprived it of the possibility of participating in the elections."

The suppression of the Moroccan Communist Party is evidently no insuperable obstacle to the development of Soviet-Moroccan friendship on the international level. A Moroccan mission of friendship and good will led by Ahmad Balafrej (the Right-wing Istiqlal leader) visited Moscow in

November 1960. (Balafrej visited Peking in November 1959). Later in the month a Moroccan military delegation visited Moscow. The decisions of the Casablanca conference of African states were acclaimed in the Soviet press, and the general orientation of Morocco's foreign policy evidently meets with Soviet approval. Soviet views on the internal political situation in Morocco, while they do not come to the fore in these contexts, are nevertheless relevant to any long-term assessment of the prospects for Soviet-Moroccan relations.

THE PRESENT STAGE IN SOVIET AFRICAN STUDIES

The general plan African studies in the Soviet Union, whether as a branch of ethnology or of "historical sciences", come within the official category of "social sciences". Directives of a general character to "workers in social sciences" were issued by Khrushchev at the XXIst CPSU Congress of January-February 1959, and were set out in the Seven-Year Plan approved by the Congress. From these, and from certain criticisms voiced at the Congress, the various branches of the Academy of Sciences drew the appropriate lessons and produced their respective plans of work.

The tasks facing Soviet orientalists, in the light of the Congress, were outlined in a leading article in PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDINIYA (No.1 of 1959). Shortcomings were noted, and the essential relevance of Soviet oriental studies to Soviet foreign policy was insisted on:

> "It was noticed in particular that many institutes and individual scholars stand aside from deciding the most important practical problems of the building of Communism and occupy themselves with abstract themes and in fact separate themselves from life. Published works are often of a descriptive character and repeat long since familiar theses, facts and arguments, and certain works contain mistakes and distortions. It must be admitted that this criticism can be immediately and directly aimed at the activities of Soviet orientalists...The work of Soviet orientalists is still far from satisfying the demands which present-day life sets before them. A profound study of the most urgent problems of contemporary life should be the main and basic objective. It is a matter of honour for our orientalists that they should produce works - monographs, brochures, articles, publications, etc. - which would promote a further creative elaboration of questions connected with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union with relation to countries of the East."

The importance of African studies was particularly emphasized:

> "Soviet African studies are gaining particular importance at the present time. The break-up of the colonial system has

enveloped Africa too. Africa's role in the capitalist economy is growing more and more, and also her role in international political life. However, works dealing with African studies issuing from the pens of Soviet researchers can be literally numbered in ones. Before research workers on Africa lies an untouched field of activity. Of particular importance is the study of such problems as questions connected with the growth of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Africa, the intensification of conflict between the interests of the imperialist powers in their struggle for African raw materials and markets, description of political organizations operating on the African continent, description of the tactics of passive struggle which many political organizations in African countries are maintaining, problems connected with relations between African states, etc. Students of Africa in Moscow, Leningrad and the union republics are to intensify their activities in the study of the varied and complicated problems relating to African history, ethnography, economics and philology, and are to coordinate their efforts and considerably widen the extent of their research."

The seven-year plan of the Institute of Ethnography, which has an African Sector, was outlined in a leading article in SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA (No.3 of 1959). Of the three sections into which the institute's general plan is divided, the second, "the formation of nations and national problems", appears to comprise the institute's African studies; this section in turn is divided into groups, the first comprising research into the ethnic composition of populations, and the second comprising research into problems of the formation of nations.

The seven-year plan of the Institute of Oriental Studies for 1959-1965 was outlined in VOPROSY ISTORII (No.11 of 1959). This stated that "the problem 'Africa in the Colonial System of Imperialism and the National Liberation Movement of the African Peoples' demands the study of a wide range of questions", and it mentioned a number of works to be published under this heading.

The Africa Institute plan On 2nd October 1959 a separate Institute of Africa was set up, as part of the Academy of Sciences' section of historical sciences; and at a session of the institute's academic council on 4th May 1960 its own six-year plan of research work for 1960-5 was approved (VOPROSY ISTORII No.10 of 1960). The institute has three sectors, history, contemporary problems and information. (A sector on African philology and linguistics will be established "in the near future"). The institute's plan is divided into sections; the sections are not specified in the account of the plan given by the institute's director Dr. I.I. Potekhin, but the main general subjects of study are indicated.

Pre-colonial history is a main subject. "West European bourgeois

historiography, placing itself at the service of colonialism, has distorted the history of Africa, regarding it only as the history of the activity of Europeans in the African countries...The task of Soviet Africanists is to expose, together with African scholars, the notion of the age-long backwardness of African peoples disseminated by reactionary bourgeois historiography." The history of the peoples of Africa under colonial rule, "the history of their heroic resistance to imperialist expansion", is another subject. Another is the situation in the new African states, "and in particular their economic development and the liquidation of the survivals of colonialism"; the situation of the peasants, the agrarian question, the position of the working class and the workers' movement are subjects "of great importance". The national question and the ethnic composition of states are another subject; "independent African states start life as states with a very complicated ethnic composition, and the successful building of a new life in these countries depends on a correct national policy." Finally Potekhin notes that "the attaining of political independence by African states often proceeds by way of using constitutional means"; this, he says, "has become possible only in the conditions of the existence of the world socialist system", and must be studied in the context of "the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism in Africa". The need for first-hand study of many problems is emphasized:

> "The institute intends to establish working relations with Africanists of foreign countries, and in the first place with scholars and scientific institutions of Africa.
>
> "An essential condition for the fulfilment of the plan is the organization of field work. It is impossible to work on many subjects without field material. In this connection it is intended to send individual research workers to different countries of Africa on missions, and the organization of a complex African expedition is proposed."

It was recently announced (VOPROSY ISTORII No.1 of 1961) that the Africa Institute was preparing for publication a series of historical works on Africa, including works on the history of the African states of the Lakes region and of the Congo basin. In conjunction with the Soviet Encyclopaedia publishing house the institute was preparing a two-volume encyclopaedic dictionary of Africa, "in which against bourgeois historiography will be set the genuinely scientific, Marxist point of view on the development of African peoples and states".

African studies at Leningrad University The work of the department of African studies at Leningrad University is the subject of a chapter in ORIENTAL STUDIES IN LENINGRAD UNIVERSITY (Moscow 1960).

According to this account, D.A. Ol'derogge began the teaching of Swahili in a newly organized African studies section of Leningrad Oriental Institute in 1929. Ol'derogge had studied African languages in

Germany under Prof. D. Westerman in 1927-8. In 1934 the teaching of African languages was taken over by Leningrad University in its department of Semito-Hamitic languages (formerly the department of Semitic languages). Ol'derogge taught Swahili, Zulu and other subjects; N.V. Yushmanov conducted courses in Hausa, Amharic and general African linguistics. The first text-books on African languages were produced: Yushmanov wrote a short Hausa grammar (1935 - lithograph) and works on the structure of Hausa and Amharic and on the languages of Ethiopia, and Ol'derogge wrote a study on locative prefixes in the Bantu languages (1937). The first student philologists of the African section graduated in 1939. Of these, T.L. Tyutryumova is now senior instructor in the department of African studies under Ol'derogge; I.P. Kupalova (Stroganova, Zhdanova - died 1957) conducted courses from 1947 in Swahili and Zulu; S.R. Smirnov is head of the history section of the Africa Institute in Moscow, under Potekhin.

In the 1944-5 academic year a department of Egyptology and African studies was set up in Leningrad University, under Yushmanov; on the latter's death in 1946 Ol'derogge took over the department. Swahili, Zulu, Hausa and Amharic were taught in the department.

At present students follow one of four "specializations": (1) Bantu languages and literature - main subjects Swahili, Zulu and (started in 1958) Luganda, subsidiary subjects Hausa and Arabic, and general courses on introduction to African studies, history of literature, and the history, geography and ethnography of Africa; (2) main subject Amharic, subsidiary subjects Ge'ez, Arabic and Swahili, general courses as in first section; (3) main subject Hausa, subsidiary subjects Swahili and Arabic, general courses as in first section; (4) history of Africa (started 1959) - the history, geography and ethnography of the peoples of Africa, with Swahili, Hausa, Arabic, etc. as compulsory languages. Students graduate (apparently after five years) as "Africanist-philologist" or "Africanist-historian".

During 1954-60 lecture courses have been given on Amharic and Ge'ez by T.L. Tyutryumova; on Hausa by N.S. Lyudkovskaya; on Swahili by V.M. Misyugin, Ye.N. Myachina, I.P. Yakovleva and (up to 1957) I.P. Zhdanova; on Luganda by I.P. Yakovleva; and on Zulu by Ye.N. Myachina, N.V. Okhotina and (up to 1957) I.P. Zhdanova. Courses have included seminars on the reading of the contemporary Swahili and Hausa press. Prof. D.A. Ol'derogge has conducted courses on the comparative grammar of Bantu languages, and other subjects; V.M. Misyugin on African history, geography and ethnography; and A.I. Sobchenko on the history of the material culture of peoples of Africa. In the next few years it is proposed to introduce the teaching of Luba, with its dialects, and Kongo, "when all the main languages of the Bantu group will be represented in the department". Preparations are being made for courses in the West African languages Mandingo and Yoruba.

Books published by the department include a Swahili chrestomathy by I.P. Stroganova (1950), and a short Hausa grammar by D.A. Ol'derogge

(1954). Under preparation are an Amharic chrestomathy with short grammar by T.L. Tyutryumova, Swahili, Hausa and Amharic phrase-books by I.P. Yakovleva, N.S. Lyudkovskaya and V.I. Sharayev respectively, and grammatical outlines of Zulu (N.V. Okhotina), Luganda (I.P. Yakovleva) and Swahili (Ye.N. Myachina). Nine graduates of the department are working in the African section of the Institute of Ethnography on the first Russian dictionaries of Swahili and Hausa.

An interesting development is the organization of extra-mural African language courses for non-experts - presumably for Russians who will be sent to the African countries. N.G. Fedorova, a pupil of the department, was the first to start the teaching of Swahili in the Institute of International Relations in Moscow.

Some recent work Articles on African subjects published in a recent issue of SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA (No.6 of 1960) give an idea of the scope and the nature of Soviet African studies at present.

On "Social Changes in Tropical Africa after the Second World War" M.I. Braginskiy describes the breakdown of the old tribal society in Africa after the war and the emergence of the working class, national bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, and the importance of this for the national liberation movement.

B.I. Sharevskaya's article "Missionary Propaganda in the Service of Neo-Colonialism in Africa (The Bantu-ized Christianity of Father Tempels)" claims that the theory put forward by the missionary R.P. Placide Tempels in his book BANTU PHILOSOPHY of affinities between Bantu philosophy and Christianity belittles African culture and is only an attempt to adjust missionary propaganda to new conditions.

"Changes in the Economy and Society of the Tonga People under the Colonial Regime" by I.A. Svanidze describes the striking changes in the agricultural production and agrarian relations of the Tonga people of Northern Rhodesia under the colonial regime, which, he claims, illustrate the laws of capitalist development in agrarian countries and the policy of the colonialists who try to prolong their rule by every means.

In "Feudalism among the Ashanti" I.I. Potekhin sides with those who declare that feudalism exists among the Ashanti, but notes significant differences between Ashanti feudalism and that of England in the middle ages.

A.S. Orlova, in "On the Place and Role of the Traditional Authorities of African Society in the Past and Present", rejects the view that feudal relations do not exist in African society or were only a result of colonial policy, and shows how the Africans' present struggle against the feudal chiefs is inextricably bound up with the national-liberation movement.

"Peoples of Nigeria" by B.V. Andrianov and R.N. Ismagilova describes the different peoples inhabiting Nigeria and how the colonialists tried in vain to use their differences to split the liberation movement. In "The Republic of Togo" V.N. Vologdina deals with the ethnic composition of Togo, the impoverishment brought by colonialism, and the national liberation movement. V.Ya. Karpushina in "The Peoples of Ruanda-Urundi under the 'Trusteeship' of the Belgian Colonialists" gives an account of the history, economy and social relations of the territory before and during the colonial period and describes the beginnings of the struggle for independence.

THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE SOVIET PRESS

Below are reviewed reports on Middle East events appearing in Soviet newspapers during the period 8th-30th January.

The Aswan High Dam The first anniversary of the commencement of work on the Aswan High Dam was the subject of articles in Soviet newspapers. IZVESTIYA published a statement made to its correspondent by Arkhipov, Chairman of the State Committee for External Economic Relations, concerning the past year's work on the dam:

> "Work on the High Aswan Dam began on 9th January 1960. The plan provides for the closing of the river Nile in 1964 with a partial filling of the reservoir formed as a result by the flood water of 1964. Hence the main attention of the Egyptian and Soviet specialists in 1960 was devoted to the setting up of the building site and a network of roads, the organisation of water and electricity supplies and the construction of various subsidiary undertakings. At the same time work on the rock on the track of the spillway canal was carried out to prepare the ground for a broad front of earthwork by 1961, bringing the extraction of earth to 3,500,000 cubic metres by the end of the current year.
>
> "To ensure the carrying out of all this work the most diverse construction equipment including powerful excavators, tip-up lorries, bulldozers and cranes was brought to Aswan from the Soviet Union at the end of 1959 and the beginning of last year. Up to a hundred Soviet enterprises were engaged in the deliveries of the equipment and materials necessary for the construction. Soviet and Egyptian specialists are in charge of the work. By the end of the year they numbered 330. About 3,000 Egyptian workers are also taking part in the construction work.
>
> "The completion of work on the whole hydro-electric scheme is planned for 1970. The UAR economy will receive up to

10 million kilowatt-hours of cheap electricity a year and the reservoirs created by the dam with a capacity of 130 million cubic metres (twice the size of the Kuybyshev sea) will ensure irrigation of 840,000 hectares of land reclaimed from the desert all the year round."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (13.1.61) reported a statement made by the Minister of Public Works of the Egyptian region, Musa Arafah, "on the subject of the slanderous campaign conducted by certain organs of the Western press concerning the Aswan High Dam project", directed towards "sowing the seeds of doubt about its implementation". The Minister had declared that progress of the project was proceeding normally according to the programme and the plans earlier laid down, and all stages of study of the project were long ago completed. There was no need to resume discussion of any aspect of the project, which had been recognized "by western, eastern and Arab experts and also by experts of the World Bank" as being in every respect soundly based from both the technical and economic aspects.

Arrests of Communists in the UAR PRAVDA (20.1.61) published the following report from Cairo which appeared in the Italian Communist daily UNITA:

"In Egypt a further 200 Communists and their sympathizers have been arrested. Among those arrested is the deputy secretary of the Communist Party. According to reports, the arrests were carried out before and after the December speech by President Nasir on the anniversary of the unsuccessful Anglo-French-Israeli aggression at Suez.

"It is reported that those arrested were sent to an area in the Egyptian desert where already for some years 800 militant democrats, for the most part representatives of the intelligentsia and members of the liberal professions, have been detained.

"It is impossible not to notice and not to condemn the contradictory nature of the policy pursued by the Egyptian Government and President Nasir; while affirming the necessity of strengthening the struggle against imperialism, for the complete liberation of Africa and Asia, at the same time they issue instructions for the arrest of the best Egyptian patriots and fighters against imperialism and thereby reduce the effectiveness of this struggle, which plays into the hands of the forces resisting the independence and progress of the Arab peoples."

Russian language teaching in the UAR UCHITEL'SKAYA GAZETA (4.12.60) published an account of Russian language teaching in Cairo by N. Kalinin, now deputy director of Moscow State University's institute of eastern

languages, and formerly professor of Russian in the Higher School of Foreign Languages in Cairo. Early in 1957, he said, he and I.K. Kalinina had gone to the Cairo school to organize Russian language courses. These had been extremely popular, and far more students had applied for admission than could be enrolled. There were now more than 150 students taking the four courses, and the first students would pass out from the school in 1961. The UAR would have qualified Russian translators and teachers for secondary schools.

Iraq A delegation of Iraqi women led by Safirah Jamil, Secretary of the Iraqi Women's League, visited Azerbaydzhan from 17th to 20th December. The delegation, which was visiting the USSR at the invitation of the Committee of Soviet Women, left for Moscow on 20th December (BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 22.12.60).

Lebanon PRAVDA (25.1.61) reported that a protocol on Soviet-Lebanese trade in 1961-3 had been signed in Beirut. It provides for a further increase in the value of trade between the two countries from 15m. to 20m. Lebanese pounds a year.

A Tass dispatch (KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA 3.1.61) reported that the prominent Lebanese Communist Artin Madoyan, while driving in a car in the centre of Beirut, had been shot at and injured by unknown assailants.

Yemen PRAVDA of 31st January published an article by A. Yermolayev commenting on Yemeni reports of British "aggression and subversive activities against the Yemen". This spoke in particular of bombing in the Yafi district and of alleged attempts by means of agents to create disorders in San'a, Hudaydah, Damar and Ta'izz. The aim, said Yermolayev, was "to weaken and paralyse the Yemen's will to resist the policy of the imperialists and to thwart the plans for the country's economic development".

Turkey IZVESTIYA (29.1.61) reported that Soviet-Turkish trade talks were being held in Moscow with a delegation headed by Mazlum Ataman, but gave no details of the discussions.

Persia The new Persian parliamentary elections were the subject of an IZVESTIYA article (18.1.61) by A. Azadi under the heading "The comedy is being repeated". This recalled descriptions of the "election comedy" of last year, alleging that policemen in plain clothes were driven around in lorries from one polling-booth to another to cast votes. In the present elections the same parties and personalities would be taking part. The government of Sharif Imami had declared that it would make every effort to ensure free and impartial elections; but present conditions made this impossible. As the Persian newspaper NAHIB-E-IRAN had

said, to claim that the Majlis deputies to be elected would be true representatives of the people was "nothing more than a fairy-tale".

PRAVDA (22.1.61) reported that a mass meeting to protest against the methods of conducting the elections had been held in Tehran. About 10,000 students assembled outside Tehran University on 20th January. The meeting was held by the "national front" organization, led by supporters of the former Premier Musaddiq, and was the biggest meeting since the latter's overthrow in 1953.

IZVESTIYA (6.1.61) published a summary of an article by A. Irandust which appeared in MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN' No.1 of 1960, on the subject of the Shah's memoirs as recently published in the Persian press. Irandust rejected the Shah's account of the Soviet-Persian negotiations of 1958-9 for the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and non-aggression, and gave the Soviet version of the negotiations. IZVESTIYA's article concluded:

> "All the events connected with these negotiations thoroughly exposed the two-faced and insincere policy of the Shah and the Persian Government, which official Persian propaganda now tries to defend and justify. As for the memoirs published in the name of the Shah, they serve the purposes of forces hostile to Persia. Their appearance more than confirms the truth of the old Persian proverb 'fear not the hydra with seven heads but the man with two tongues'. But even the blackest clouds of lies cannot for long hide from people the sun of truth."

The article was accompanied by two photographs published in the West German paper STERN; one showed guests drinking champagne at a Court reception, and the other showed people waiting outside a prison to visit their relatives. IZVESTIYA commented: "Luxury and poverty, fashionable dresses and rags, arbitrary rule and lack of rights - such is present-day Persia."

A Soviet booklet on Islam A recently published Soviet booklet on Islam (ISLAM AND ITS REACTIONARY ESSENCE, by D.A. Patrushev, Moscow 1960) - an "exposure" of Islam on the usual Soviet lines - concludes with the following "advice to the lecturer" on the subject of Islam:

> "In preparing a lecture on Islam one must not be carried away by its history. The rise and spread of Islam should be dealt with briefly, showing the historical and class roots of Islam and its hallowing of the interests of the explciting classes. Attention must be devoted in the lecture to exposing the unscientific, reactionary nature of the ideology of Islam and its harmful effect on the fight for peace, democracy and national independence in the countries of the Muslim world in our day."

AFRICA IN THE SOVIET PRESS

Below are reviewed reports on African affairs appearing in the Soviet press during the period 11th January - 1st February 1961.

The Afro-Asian Women's Conference

In a message of greetings to the Afro-Asian Women's Conference, held in Cairo from 15th to 19th January, Khrushchev emphasized the role of women in the struggle for peace, and called on the women of Asia and Africa to ensure that the UN decision on the liquidation of colonialism did not remain only on paper. "It must be translated into reality, despite the inevitable opposition of the colonialists. This opens a wider road to your struggle for the rights and happiness of women" (PRAVDA 15.1.61). The Tass correspondent F. Nosov (IZVESTIYA 17.1.61) said that Khrushchev's message was greeted by the conference with an ovation.

A Tass report of the conference resolutions (PRAVDA VOSTOKA 22.1.61) noted that they gave particular importance to international questions - solidarity in the struggle against imperialism for its complete liquidation, the struggle for peace and disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons and the liquidation of foreign military bases, etc.

The AAPSC Meeting in Cairo

In a message of greetings to the extraordinary session of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council, held in Cairo on 21st-22nd January, Khrushchev spoke in particular of the Congo situation. He said that the "imperialist aggression...screened by the UN flag and encouraged by the UN Secretary-General" was a grave danger to all the independent countries of Asia and Africa; if the imperialists achieved their aims in the Congo, they would try to deprive other states of their freedom. On Algeria, he said that the Algerian people must be given the opportunity "independently and freely to decide their own destiny". The Soviet people were profoundly happy at the growing unity and solidarity of the African peoples against the colonialists (PRAVDA 22.1.61).

The speech made by the Soviet delegate Mirzo Tursun-zade was fairly fully reported in PRAVDA (23.1.61). IZVESTIYA (24.1.61) noted in particular that the conference's resolution on the Congo invited the Afro-Asian countries with forces in the Congo to place these at the disposal of the Stanleyville government, and invited countries having diplomatic missions in the Congo to transfer these to Stanleyville.

The Soviet Statement of 11th January on the Congo Situation

The following are the main points of a Soviet Government statement "on the necessity of liquidating Belgian trusteeship over Ruanda-Urundi and on the situation in the Congo" which was issued on 11th January (PRAVDA 12.1.61).

Ruanda-Urundi At the beginning of January "acts of armed aggression against the Republic of the Congo" had been committed from Ruanda-Urundi territory. "The organizer of the aggressive actions, the Belgian Government, used for aggressive purposes UN trust territory administered by Belgium, and rendered Mobutu's mercenary armed detachments direct military assistance...When the Mobutu gangs which crossed the Congolese frontier were smashed by the government troops of the Congo Republic, Belgian military units stationed in Ruanda-Urundi, together with Mobutu's men, themselves attacked these troops in several regions of the Congolese province of Kivu. The Belgian Ambassador in Brazzaville and the Belgian administrative authorities in Ruanda-Urundi maintained official contact with Mobutu's men in the preparation and execution of this aggression."

Belgium was thus continuing armed intervention against the Congo Republic; Belgium and her NATO allies were flouting the declaration on granting independence to colonial countries adopted by the UN General Assembly. The Soviet Government considered that Belgium should be deprived of all rights and powers with regard to the trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi, which should be granted immediate independence. The Belgian Government must immediately comply with earlier Security Council resolutions and withdraw Belgian forces and civilian personnel from the Congo Republic forthwith.

The attitude of the UN command The aggression by Mobutu's forces took place "with the knowledge and obvious connivance" of the UN command. It was apparent from official documents that Mr. Hammarskjoeld knew in advance of the plan to attack Kivu province from Ruanda-Urundi, but no measures were taken to prevent it. In his Note of 7th January to the Belgian UN delegation Mr. Hammarskjoeld gave an assurance of UN protection for Belgians in the Bukavu area. "Thus Hammarskjoeld in this Note leaves a loophole in case, on the pretext of protecting the property of the colonialists, he needs to extend the armed intervention in the domestic affairs of the Congo."

The failure of Mobutu's aggression had alarmed the big foreign monopolies "and Dag Hammarskjoeld, upholding their interests". Mr. Hammarskjoeld's interpretation of the Security Council resolution was that the UN troops in the Congo were there to protect endangered lives and property, in order to eliminate the alleged motives for Belgian military intervention. This meant in effect the replacement of Belgian military intervention by UN military intervention to protect Belgians and other whites, "though it is well known that Hammarskjoeld never

showed concern for the protection of the lives and property of Congolese citizens, and even virtually facilitated the arrest of the Prime Minister and leaders of the Congolese Parliament".

The Security Council decision was aimed at curbing imperialist aggression against the Congo. "Mr. Hammarskjoeld's political line is in fact an attempt to secure extra-territorial rights for the Belgian and other colonialists in the Congo. Is it not outrageous that, when the authority of the legitimate Congo Government is asserted in Stanleyville, the UN forces command begins to count how many Europeans live in Stanleyville and in Orientale province in general, and what reinforcements must be sent to protect their property? And this is being done under the flag of the UN which has resolutely demanded in its Assembly the abolition of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations! Grossly flouting the Assembly's decisions, unbridled colonialists and their minions like Hammarskjoeld consider it possible to follow in the Congo a policy based on distinguishing between people depending on colour of skin. If an inhabitant of the Congo is black, his rights and demands are ignored, be he the Prime Minister or a member of parliament chosen by the people. If he is white, then he must be defended with all strength, and to do this UN money is spent and punitive and escort expeditions are sent, even if this white man be the most shameless and foul raper and colonial marauder. If the policy of Mr. Hammarskjoeld and the UN forces command in the Congo is not a manifestation of colonialism, and of the oldest and most odious one, what is it?"

The arrest of Lumumba "The arrest of the national hero of the Congolese people, Premier Patrice Lumumba, and of a number of other outstanding statesmen of the Congo has shown the Congolese people and other African peoples that the Western powers want no genuine independence for the Congo, but want to confine themselves only to fictitious independence and the existence of a puppet regime directly relying on the support of Belgian-American colonialists and foreign bayonets. Patrice Lumumba's name has already become a symbol of the struggle for the liberation of the Congo and the whole of Africa."

The Stanleyville government "The Congolese people's struggle for independence has risen to a new and higher stage with the establishment in Stanleyville of a provisional seat of the legitimate government of the Congo, now headed by Deputy Prime Minister A. Gizenga. In addition to Orientale province and Kivu province, which have become the stronghold of the Congolese people's resistance to foreign aggression, the legitimate government is being joined all the time by new parts of the country, including specifically three-quarters of the Katanga province inhabited by the Baluba tribe. In other provinces of the Republic of the Congo too, as reported by the foreign press, Mobutu's rebels and imperialist interventionists hold only isolated points, and only with the indirect and sometimes open support of the UN forces command. Thus the aggression in the Congo, having taught the people a bitter and grim lesson, has

resulted in a growth of popular resistance, the rallying of the patriotic forces and enhancement of the military potential. The Congolese soil is burning under the feet of the colonialists."

The Casablanca conference "The peoples of Africa begin to learn ever more distinctly by their own experience that they can no longer hope for the defence of the independence and sovereign rights of the Congo Republic, as of other African countries, by means of the present executive machinery of the UN, and that their lawful rights and interests can be safeguarded only through joint efforts by the independent African states and their numerous friends throughout the world. The recently concluded Casablanca conference of the heads of independent African states was an important event in the struggle for the liberation of Africa from the shackles and chains of colonialism. The 'Casablanca Charter' adopted by the conference expresses the African peoples' growing determination to strengthen their unity and intensify their struggle against the old and new forms of colonialism, against the imperialist policy of division and the setting of African countries, peoples and tribes against one another, against the implantation of separatist movements and puppet governments, against the consolidation of colonial rule in new forms in the economic, military and political spheres. The Soviet Government fully supports the Casablanca conference's resolution on the situation in the Congo, which demands, first of all, the immediate disarming and disbandment of Mobutu's gang of mercenaries, the release of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and other members of the parliament and the Congo Government, the convocation of parliament, the transfer to the legitimate government of all civilian and military airfields, radio stations and other installations, and also the adoption of other measures to curb the colonial aggression in the Congo.

"The Soviet Government supports the view of the heads of independent African states that the most urgent measures are required to help the independent Congo Republic. The effectiveness of these measures depends above all on the unity and resolution of the African states and on the joint efforts of all peaceful countries of Asia, Europe and Latin America. The quicker and more energetically all possible moral and material support is given to the legitimate government of the Congo Republic in its struggle for the country's political independence and sovereignty, the sooner a just solution of the Congolese problem will be found and the sooner the sparks of war will be extinguished in that part of Africa."

The Soviet Government considered it necessary "to take, along UN lines, the necessary measures to normalize the situation in the Congo Republic", in conformity with the Casablanca conference recommendations. These questions must be immediately discussed at a session of the Security Council, and if necessary also at an emergency session of the General Assembly.

12.1.61 IZVESTIYA gave an account of a letter sent to Mr. Dayal by Lumumba, concerning the "inhuman conditions" of his confinement in prison in Thysville; the letter was reported by the special correspondent of the Yugoslav newspaper BORBA.

14.1.61 PRAVDA, quoting messages from the Yugoslav news agency Tanyug from Leopoldville, reported that the local garrison in Thysville had mutinied and Lumumba had been set free, but according to UN sources the mutiny had been suppressed and Lumumba was again in prison.

15.1.61 PRAVDA reported that a group of Belgian forces from Usumbura had crossed the frontier in a lorry into Congolese territory near Bukavu; they had been stopped by Congolese forces and taken to Bukavu.

16.1.61 PRAVDA reported that Gizenga in Stanleyville had sent a telegram to President Nasir, with copies to the UN and all Afro-Asian countries, alleging that Belgian parachutists had attacked the town of Goma on the Congolese side of the frontier with Ruanda-Urundi.

18.1.61 PRAVDA reported that Mobutu, "fearing a repetition of the mutiny in the military camp at Thysville", had transferred Lumumba to Elisabethville.

19-23.1.61 Soviet newspapers published vehement denunciations of the treatment of Lumumba, and demands for his release. V. Mayevskiy in PRAVDA (20.1.61) quoted a news agency report of the beating of Lumumba and his companions at Elisabethville airport, and noted that an airport official said he had to turn away in disgust. The airport official, said Mayevskiy, might have had to turn away, but the Swedish UN soldiers did not; they calmly looked on at the torturing "by Belgian gendarmes and their hangers-on" of the Premier of the very government which had turned to the UN for aid against the Belgian colonialists; Hammarskjoeld himself must bear the responsibility for this. K. Ivanov in IZVESTIYA (21.1.61) said that the colonialists felt that the ground was slipping beneath their feet, and the inhuman treatment of Lumumba was their "insolent and cowardly reply" to the growth of the liberation movement in the various regions of the Congo and to the Casablanca conference's demand for Lumumba's release. K. Smirnov, also in IZVESTIYA (22.1.61), said that one of the Swedish UN soldiers had said that the prisoners were beaten, but "not in the face", that none of them had fallen to the ground, and that it was "only one minute" between the time they left the aircraft and were taken away; but, even if this was the case, "this minute is an eternal and indelible disgrace to the UN, whose representatives passively looked on at this outrage"; it proved to the world that

"the UN forces and the colonialists are acting in concert to suppress the independence of the Congo Republic".

24.1.61-1.2.61 Soviet newspapers published reports alleging that Belgian forces in Ruanda-Urundi were being reinforced and that a "foreign legion" was being formed in Katanga.

Other Countries

Algeria A PRAVDA article by "Observer" (15.1.61) summed up the results of the Algeria referendum. "Despite terror and intimidation", it said, 43 per cent of Algerians had abstained from voting; this meant that the provisional Algerian government enjoyed increasing authority in Algeria, and the Algerian people were resolved to continue to the end their struggle against colonial rule. In France itself only 55.9 per cent of registered voters voted "yes", and many of them were deceived by government propaganda to the effect that a "yes" vote meant a vote for negotiations. "Thus the referendum in the most convincing way confirmed that the French people desires a peaceful settlement in Algeria without delay by means of immediate negotiations with the provisional Algerian government on a cease-fire and the implementation of the lawful right of the Algerian people to self-determination". The Soviet people was giving and would continue to give every aid to the Algerian people in their just struggle. The day of Algeria's final liberation was not far off.

On 27th January PRAVDA published an analysis of the referendum results by Pierre Courtade. He said that most of those who voted "yes" did so for the first part of the question put to them, concerning self-determination, overlooking the second part, which in effect denied self-determination; to a simple question, do you approve of self-determination and negotiations, 95 per cent would have voted yes. The French Communist Party was calling for unity of action of all Frenchmen who wanted negotiations, whether they voted "yes" or "no" or abstained.

A Tass report from Accra (IZVESTIYA 20.1.61) said that enrolment of young Ghanaians for service in the Algerian FLN had been taking place throughout Ghana, and more than 4,000 volunteers had already been enrolled; the Ghana Government, in a statement of 14th January, had approved the enrolment.

Morocco KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (21.1.61) published an article on the subject of US and French air force bases in Morocco. This said that the bases were being used "to train pilots of various nationalities for participation in the suppression of the national liberation movement"; Laotian pilots in the service of Gen. Nosavan had revealed that they were trained at US air force bases near Meknes and Marrakesh. The French bases were used for operations against the Algerian FLN. The recent so-called

"good will" visit of the US cruiser Springfield to Casablanca should rather be called a "mailed fist" demonstration. The Casablanca conference had called on all independent African countries to stop the use of their territories for operations against the Algerian people. King Mohammed V and the Moroccan Government and people were more and more insistently demanding the removal of foreign bases from their territory.

Tunisia PRAVDA (18.1.61) reported that Soviet-Tunisian discussions on the expansion of trade between the two countries were held in Moscow from 10th to 17th January, and a protocol was signed.

Sudan PRAVDA VOSTOKA (5.1.61) reported that, after a visit to Uzbekistan, a Sudanese trade delegation led by the Sudanese Ambassador to the USSR Yakub Osman had left Tashkent for Moscow for talks on Soviet-Sudanese trade exchanges during 1961.

PRAVDA (18.1.61) quoted articles in Sudanese newspapers expressing pleasure at Gen. Abbud's forthcoming visit to Moscow and approval of the "neutralist course" of Sudan's foreign policy.

Ethiopia A Tass dispatch from New York (BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY and KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA 5.1.61) reported, without comment, that 120 persons had been killed in a clash on the Ethiopian-Somali frontier over "the unresolved question of the Somalis' right to use the high-mountain (sic) pastures in the province of Ogaden"; the Ethiopian authorities had ordered the Somali tribes to leave these areas before 7th January.

Togo PRAVDA VOSTOKA (17.1.61) reported that President Sylvanus Olympio of Togo had invited Khrushchev to visit Togo when he visits other states in West Africa; Khrushchev had accepted, and had invited the President to visit the Soviet Union.

Niger, Upper Volta and Dahomey PRAVDA (30.1.61) published an account of conditions in former French African territories by the Greek journalist Constantine Kumaryanos, who had been imprisoned for three months in Niger and for a year in Upper Volta. The article was datelined Accra. Even after their independence, said Kumaryanos, these countries were still dominated by the French, who controlled their security forces. In Niger supporters of the Sawaba Party, which opposed the military agreement with France, were thrown into prison and beaten; while he was there 17 of them had died from injuries and sickness. In Upper Volta the French supported the feudal "emperor" of the Mosi tribe, who took his orders from the French High Commissioner and appointed his own ministers, with complete disregard for the actual government. He supplied soldiers for the French forces, primarily for service in Algeria; and his "Minister of the Army", who was also the supreme judge, could

sentence citizens to instant execution. The leader of the opposition, Nazzi Bonni, had been thrown into the Goro-Gorom concentration camp, but had managed to escape across the frontier, and published a weekly newspaper which was secretly circulated in Upper Volta. Kumaryanos said he arrived in Dahomey when a general strike was taking place; against the strikers the French had used tribal warriors with bows and poisoned arrows.

Guinea KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (26.1.61) reported that Sekou Toure had sent a telegram to Brezhnev and Khrushchev thanking them for their congratulations on his election as President.

Tass reported (KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA 12.1.61) that a plan for Soviet-Guinean cultural cooperation in 1961 was signed in Moscow on 10th January; it provided for an expansion of relations in the fields of culture, art, science and education.

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